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THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY
AND CUBAN INDEPENDENCE.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1898.

WASHINGTON.

1898.
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Mr. W. A. Smith
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SPEECH OF HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9253) for the better organization of the line of the Army of the United States—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This bill was carefully considered in the Committee on Military Affairs. It was reported to this House with the understanding that each member should have the privilege—

Mr. HULL. Has there been any arrangement made as to the division of the time?

Mr. SULZER. As I understand it, I am recognized in my own right.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York is recognized in his own right.

Mr. HULL. What I was asking about was the division of the time.

Mr. SULZER. I believe I have the floor, and I will proceed.

Mr. Speaker, the bill was reported by the Committee on Military Affairs with the understanding, on my part, at least, that each member of the committee should have the privilege of taking such position on it as he desired. For one I desire to say that I am absolutely opposed to the greater part of this bill. The only part of the bill that I favor is the provision for the reorganization of the Army on the basis of three battalions.

There are, I believe, only three countries in the civilized world to-day which have their armies organized on the basis of two battalions. They are China, Persia, and the United States. Every civilized nation in the world which considers itself a military power has the modern organization of three battalions, and China, I am informed, is about, or has recently, adopted this modern plan of organization. I therefore believe that the Government of the United States should adopt the three-battalion system. I favor that part of the bill, and I hope so much of the bill will pass.

The chairman of the committee [Mr. HULL] has said this morning on the floor of this House that at the conclusion of the debate he would favor striking out all of the bill after the second section.

The first and second sections of the bill simply provide for the reorganization of the Army on the three-battalion system. That would not increase the number of the Regular Army, except to the extent of adding twenty-five additional majors. I can see no objection to that.

I am a Jeffersonian Democrat, and I have always been opposed on principle to a large standing army in time of peace. I am opposed now to any further extension of increasing the number of men in the Federal Army.

The laws on the statute books at present seem amply sufficient for enlarging the Army in case of war.

I make no criticism upon the Regular Army. It is a magnificent body of brave and loyal men. It has made history. I have

only praise for its valor and glory. The Regular Army speaks for itself and needs no eulogy from any man. But I do desire to say a few words in behalf of the militia of the States and the volunteer forces of the Government, the citizen soldiery of our land. They constitute the flower of our land, the pride and glory of our States, and the reserved strength, greatness, and power of our country in time of war.

If this bill should pass in its, present shape, it would add to the Regular Army over 75,000 men. This bill is not a war measure; no one contends that it is an emergency measure. If it passes in its present shape, it would make the standing Army of the country a little over 104,000 men, and until these men were mustered in for active service there could not be and there would not be a chance for the service of volunteers or the militia. In other words, if this bill became a law in its present shape, there could not be a single military organization from any State and there could not be a volunteer force from any State mustered into the Federal service in time of war unless more than 104,000 men were required. This, in my opinion, would be unfair and unjust to the citizen soldiery of the States and to the volunteer forces of the country.

I believe in the citizen soldiery of our land. I take a deep interest in their welfare, and in so far as I can I shall always maintain their rights. The history of our country in time of war demonstrates that there are no better soldiers. They are brave, patriotic, and intelligent. They come from the professions, from the workshops, from the counting rooms, from the mills, from the mines, and from the fields. There are no better fighters than those who come from the volunteer forces of the people. These volunteers constitute the great patriotic army of our country. They are no hirelings, no mercenaries; they fight for the defense of home and country, for principle and glory, for liberty and the rights of man. In time of peace they follow their usual trades, professions, and occupations. They do not menace our liberties or the stability of our free institutions. In time of war they constitute an army of intelligent, well-drilled soldiers as large as any army in the world. In a republic like ours a great standing army in time of peace is useless, expensive, and dangerous. In time of trouble we should and we must rely upon the volunteer forces of the country.

This bill, in its present shape, comes to us from the War Department, at the instigation of the officers of the Federal Army, to make places and secure promotions for them, and would be unjust to the volunteer forces and the military organizations of the States whose rank and file and officers devote days, months, and years of valuable time to practice, to drills, to tactics, and to organization.

If you pass this bill as it is now, you may just as well disband every militia company and every volunteer organization in our country.

I am glad that the chairman of the committee has agreed to strike out of this bill all the provisions increasing the Federal Army. He simply asks now, as I understand it, for the enactment of the first and second sections of the bill, which provide for the three-battalion system of organization. I can see no harm in that. I believe good will come of it. Our Army in time of peace and in time of war should be organized on the basis of the best military organization in the world. As at present constituted it is organized on a basis now obsolete, and not followed by any other great military power in the world. We ought to be up to date in

this as in everything else. The part of the bill to accomplish this should speedily pass. All the rest of it, and especially the part which seeks to increase the Federal Army, should be stricken out.

Mr. Speaker, such are my views and opinions on this bill. I give them to the House for what they are worth. I shall now and hereafter vote in accordance with them until I am convinced that I am in error. No act of mine will ever, I trust, lend assistance to the disorganization of our State military organizations, and no vote of mine will ever, I hope, be cast to chill the ardor, the loyalty, and the patriotism of the splendid and magnificent volunteer forces of our country.

While discussing this bill I may be pardoned, I hope, if I refer to the Cuban question.

Poor Cuba is now the one question uppermost in the thoughts and talks of the people of our land. It is fitting and proper that I should again raise my voice in behalf of the struggling Cuban patriots. We are told that the crisis is here, and that war with Spain is now inevitable. If such is the case, I have no fears of the result. Cuba will be free, our national honor will be vindicated, and Spain will be humiliated in the dust. We will teach Spain a lesson she will never forget; and the conflict should be short, decisive, and annihilating.

If we are on the eve of war, we are ready. I am one of those who believe either Spain or the United States must now back down. I am one of those who believe that we have now reached that crisis in Cuban affairs where nothing can be done by this country with honor unless we free Cuba.

As everyone knows who is conversant at all with the Cuban matter, there was a time when war with Spain could have been averted. In my judgment and in the judgment of almost everyone, that day is now passed. We must fight now for the independence of Cuba and our national honor, or we must retire in disgrace. We must bring about the freedom of Cuba and wipe out the stain Spain has put on our flag, or we must forever hereafter hold our heads in humiliation and shame before the civilized powers of the world.

Mr. Speaker, in the Fifty-fourth Congress a concurrent resolution recognizing the belligerent rights of the Cuban patriots was passed by an almost unanimous vote. It went to the Executive, and he quietly pigeonholed it. If he had signed it, the Cubans would have achieved their independence within six months. Nothing else was done by the Fifty-fourth Congress regarding poor Cuba and her frightful tribulations.

At the very beginning of this Fifty-fifth Congress—to be accurate, on the 20th of May, 1897—Senator MORGAN passed in the Senate of the United States by an overwhelming vote a joint resolution granting belligerent rights to the Cuban patriots. That resolution was sent to this House on or about the 20th day of May, 1897. The Speaker referred it to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and it has slumbered in that committee ever since.

I am informed that the Committee on Foreign Affairs of this House has never taken action on that joint resolution. It is well known that if that resolution had been reported to this House, as it should have been long ere this, it would have passed by an overwhelming majority. If it had passed, it would have become a law and the Cuban people long ago would have achieved their own freedom and independence.

Mr. Speaker, some one is responsible for the suppression of that joint resolution. Its suppression was a blunder worse than a

crime. Who is the man? In a number of speeches which I have made heretofore on the floor of this House relating to Cuba I have called attention in no mistaken terms to the suppression of Senator MORGAN'S joint resolution granting belligerent rights to the Cuban patriots. All this trouble could have been averted if that resolution had passed.

Since the war for Cuban independence began, over three years ago, the Cuban patriots have persistently and continuously begged and pleaded that this country grant them belligerent rights. Give them this right, they said, and they would do the rest. If it had been done a year ago, or two years ago, no one doubts but that Cuba would to-day be a free and independent republic. During this time they were and are entitled to belligerent rights, according to the facts and by every construction of international law.

They are entitled to more now, and in my judgment we should at least recognize their independence. We should have recognized the independence of Cuba long ago. We have delayed too long. We have neglected too much. The order of the day has been procrastination. Our responsibility is great, and we will realize it before a great while. The people will judge you, and nothing you can now do will alter or change their judgment regarding your nonaction for three long years.

Mr. Speaker, the following is the joint resolution of Senator MORGAN I have referred to, and which I will now read:

Joint resolution declaring that a condition of public war exists in Cuba, and that strict neutrality shall be maintained.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba, and that the United States of America shall maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

Passed the Senate May 20, 1897.

Attest:

WM. R. COX, *Secretary.*

From that day to this the Committee on Foreign Affairs of this House has refused to report that resolution, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of Democratic members to force it to do so. It has been suppressed in the committee for almost a year. What a shame!

If it had been reported and passed, Cuba would have been free six months ago, and recent events would never have occurred. But now we should go farther, in my opinion. Now we should recognize the independence of the Cuban Republic. Recognition of independence is a fact, and we have a right to determine what constitutes a fact as well as Spain had when she recognized the Southern Confederacy in 1861. The Cuban Republic is a living fact. If we recognize the independence of the Cuban Republic now, if we had done so six months or a year ago, Spain could not justly complain. It is not and could not be construed as a *casus belli*. Spain could find no fault and would have no just cause of complaint against this Republic. This Government recognized the independence of all the South American Republics, and Spain never did and never could find fault.

If it is true that we have neglected our duty regarding this important question for the last two years, it is not yet too late for us to pass a joint resolution recognizing the independence of Cuba. If we do this now promptly and speedily, the Cubans will achieve their independence without any further help from us. The Cuban patriots do not ask the Government of the United States to inter-

vene; they only ask for a recognition of their independence. We should grant it to them immediately. It is the least we can do.

They have been fighting their own battles; they have beaten Spain in every important engagement; they have conquered and hold more than three-quarters of the territory of the island; they have a stable government; they levy and collect taxes; they make and administer their own laws; they have a well-drilled army in the field; they have a permanent seat of government, and they say to us: "Give us recognition and we, with our own strong arms, will achieve our own independence." They ask for bread, and we give them a stone. We delay; we wait; we hesitate; we are today the laughing stock of the world. We should do our duty and let the President do his duty. We have waited here from Monday to Wednesday, from Wednesday to Monday, week in and week out, for the Executive to send his message to Congress. Why should we wait? Why should we not, as representatives of the people, do our duty and discharge our responsibility? Why should we not pass the joint resolution recognizing the independence of Cuba, send it speedily to the President, and let him take such action on it as he may deem fit and proper?

Let him sign the resolution or veto it, and let the responsibility for his action be upon his own head. Action on our part is what the people demand. No one here doubts that if the Committee on Foreign Affairs would report a joint resolution recognizing the independence of Cuba it would pass this House by an almost unanimous vote. Nine out of every ten members are in favor of recognizing Cuban independence. Why is the Committee on Foreign Affairs derelict in its duty? Resolution after resolution recognizing Cuban independence has been introduced in the House and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and there they sleep the sleep that knows no waking. The Committee on Foreign Affairs seems to be bound and shackled. It is impotent. It can not act unless the Speaker tells it to act, and the Speaker will not give the word. We are waiting, waiting, waiting, for a weak and wabbling Executive to make up his mind what to do. We are waiting for his message.

We know nothing whatever about it. We do not know that it ever will come. For one I have not yet given up hope. Perhaps next Monday, perhaps some day when it will be too late, a weak and apologetic message, similar to that submitting the testimony of the board of inquiry in regard to the tragedy of the *Maine*, may come in. For one I stand here and emphatically say I am opposed to further delay. I favor immediate action by this House. I am opposed to delegating the constitutional rights of the members of this House to the President of the United States. [Applause.]

We are the representatives of twoplephndnea, e ought to have the courage of our convictions. Let us be men. Let us do our duty. Let us be true to the people and to our constituents. Let us act here what we talk about so eloquently elsewhere. Let us do something regarding this Cuban question or admit to the world that we are slaves or automatons. In the lobbies, in the smoking rooms of this House, on the street corners, and in the hotels, you sing the eloquent song of Cuban independence, and tell how anxious you are to bring it about; but in this House, for some reason or other, you stand mute and silent. Under your breath you murmur and mutter and threaten revolt; but when the time comes for action, you fall in line and do the bidding of your master. What secret power holds you thus? Is it the awful power

of the Speaker, or is it the fear of the avenging mailed hand of MARK HANNA?

You are very brave outside of the walls of this Chamber, but here you are afraid to open your mouths. You are the absolute creatures of some potent influence more powerful apparently than the will of the American people. If you act thus much longer the people will call you Speaker REED's "reconcentrados" or President McKinley's "pacificos." [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, some time ago I introduced a joint resolution recognizing the independence of Cuba. It is buried in the Committee on Foreign Affairs, like many other resolutions on Cuba I have introduced. I can not get it out. I send a copy of it to the Clerk's desk and ask to have it now read, so that it will go in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The resolution will be read in the time of the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER].

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 220) for the independence of the Republic of Cuba.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

That the Government of the United States hereby recognize the Republic of Cuba as the true and lawful government of that island.

That the war Spain is waging against Cuba is so destructive of the commercial and property interests of the United States and so cruel, barbarous, and inhuman in its character as to make it the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that she at once withdraw her land and naval forces from Cuba.

That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized, empowered, and directed to use, if necessary, the entire land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect.

That the battle ship *Maine* was blown up in the harbor of Havana February 15, 1898, and the lives of 266 American seamen and marines lost by the action of Spain.

Now, gentlemen, if you will vote here as you talk outside of the halls of this House, we can force a report of that resolution and pass it through Congress in twenty-four hours. The President will not dare refuse to sign it. It will become a law. It may avert war. Spain will probably back down, but at all events Cuba will be free in less than thirty days. [Applause.] Action on our part is all that is necessary.

Over a week ago one of the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ADAMS], in order, no doubt, to gain time, promised that the committee would report a joint resolution recognizing the independence of Cuba if the President did not send in the right kind of a message on the following Monday. Monday has come and gone. No message. Wednesday has come and gone. No message. Will he send it in next Monday? I hope so. We all do; but if he does not, what then? Will the Foreign Affairs Committee report, or will it wait until the indignant members of this House rise up and force it to report the proper kind of a resolution?

You all know the frightful situation and deplorable condition of affairs in Cuba. Every day is momentous. Every day of delay here means the death of thousands of innocent, peaceable men, women, and children. The suffering, the misery, the crime, and the butchery there can not be told in words. It is beyond the expression of man. It has no parallel in history. It is unprecedented in the blackest annals of the world. How much longer are we expected to wait? How much longer must we be put off? The press and the pulpit ring with denunciations against our disgraceful conduct. Ninety-nine out of every hundred citizens in our land want us to do something. They want us to recognize

the independence of Cuba, and, if necessary, maintain it by force of arms. That is my position. If I am not mistaken, that is the position of every Democrat here and of the Democrats generally of the United States.

Let us as the people's representatives have the courage to do our duty without waiting any longer. If the President will not lead, he must follow. We must take action at once. Any further delay on our part will be a criminal blunder. Our responsibility is great. We can not shift it nor evade the duty which stares us in the face. The press of the whole land rings with patriotic article after patriotic article asking us to do something. Our inaction is becoming a national scandal. It is becoming a disgrace. We have done practically nothing. We are doing nothing to help the starving, struggling, heroic Cuban patriots. Everything that the Government has done since the Cuban struggle began has been done in the interest of Spain and to help the Spaniards.

We have spent millions of dollars of the people's money during the last three years doing police duty for Spain along our coasts. We have arrested and imprisoned our citizens on the alleged charge of trying to help the Cuban patriots, but they have violated no law, national or international. We have done everything in our power to prevent the Cuban patriots from buying arms, food, clothing, medicine, and the munitions of war. We have appropriated \$50,000,000 to get ready for something, and we appropriated it without a murmur. We do not desire to harshly criticize the President; we have too much respect for the great office he holds; but we think it is only fair that he should take us into his confidence and let us know what he is going to do, how he is going to do it, and when he is going to do it.

Mr. Speaker, the duty of the House of Representatives in regard to Cuba is now and for the last two years has been imperative. The way we have ignored this great question should bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every liberty-loving citizen in our land. At the beginning of the Fifty-fourth Congress I introduced a joint resolution granting belligerent rights to the Cubans, and subsequently, on the 2d day of March, 1896, in a speech I made on the floor of this House I said:

The Cuban patriots are entitled by every construction of international law to belligerent rights. They have in the field a standing army of over 40,000 men. They have proclaimed their declaration of independence, similar to our own, and, in the opinion of many, more justifiable. They have adopted a provisional constitution, republican in form. They have elected a president, a vice-president, and a constituent assembly. They have a cabinet of ministers. They have a seat of government, and are in possession and hold three-quarters of the island. They are competent to-day to treat and negotiate with any other sovereign people on the face of the globe.

They have maintained their army in the field against the great army of Spain, under the command of her first Captain-General, for more than a year. They have won important and decisive battles. They are unconquered and unconquerable. They are a brave, long-suffering, and patriotic people. They ought to win, and they will win. We do not know what is going on in that island to-day, because Spain fears the light of truth; because Spain fears investigation; because Spain hates to allow the people of the world to know how she is conducting the war there. She has established a censorship of the press, of the cable, and of the post-office that is an affront and an insult to the intelligence, the progress, the civilization, and the enlightenment of the last decade of the nineteenth century.

On the 17th day of December, 1895, I offered the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

Joint resolution declaring that a state of public war exists in Cuba and that belligerent rights be accorded to the Cuban Government.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Government of the United States recognizes a condition of public war between the Government of Spain and

the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba; and the United States of America hereby declare that they will maintain a condition of strict neutrality between the contending powers and accord to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States. The Congress of the United States protest and remonstrate against the barbarous manner in which the war in Cuba has been conducted, and the President is hereby authorized to take such steps as may be expedient, in his judgment, to secure an observance of the laws of war as recognized by all civilized nations.

That is all the Cuban patriots ask for or want. I introduced it at their request. It is moderate and conservative, but it accomplishes the object desired, hoped for, and prayed for. I had indulged the ardent hope that the Committee on Foreign Affairs would report it and that it would pass Congress.

Regarding the adoption of that resolution I said in that speech:

If you will pass this resolution, I have no hesitancy in predicting that Cuba will be free and independent ere the end of the year. [Applause.]

If it is not done, what then? Well, sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Congress will have to act, or the people of this country will say to their representatives and those in authority, in the words of the poet Watson:

"Betrayers of a people, know thy shame."

And what I said then is true to-day.

In that same speech, speaking of the contest the Cubans were making, I said:

These brave, noble, heroic Cuban patriots are fighting a battle of republicanism against monarchy; of democracy against plutocracy; home rule against the bayonet; the sovereignty of the individual against the sanctity of the king; the ballot against the throne; American liberty against foreign tyranny; and above all and beyond all, they are fighting a battle for the rights of man. They must and will succeed.

And I predicted that—

Spain can not win. She can not again subjugate Cuba. Her greatest generals meet with defeat in every important engagement, and her resources are drained to a condition of national bankruptcy. She can not carry on the war much longer and must soon admit her inability to quell the revolution. From what I can ascertain and from what I can learn from the best and most authoritative sources, I know the Cubans will accept no terms but the freedom of the island—no more faithless promises of reform; nothing but absolute independence.

That was true then, and it is true now. The Cuban patriots will accept no armistice, no more reforms, no system of autonomy. They will accept nothing but independence or death. God help any Administration in this country that will cooperate with Spain to coerce the Cuban patriots to accept anything but independence.

That joint resolution of mine granting belligerent rights to the Cubans was never reported from the committee of this House, although I did all I could, in season and out of season, to get it reported.

Senator MORGAN's resolution, which passed the Senate, is very similar to it, and after it came to this House I abandoned my resolution in favor of his. The committee never reported it.

On the 17th day of June, 1897, I presented to this House a monster petition in favor of the immediate passage of Senator MORGAN's resolution, and, as the RECORD will show, I then said in a short speech which I made:

We are wasting time here day in and day out while hundreds and hundreds of American citizens are languishing in Cuban jails for no offense whatever. Our trade with Cuba ruined, our flag fired upon, our citizens robbed, insulted, and assassinated, or driven like wild beasts from their homes and farms in the interior of Cuba to the Spanish fortified towns on the coast to starve, to sicken, and to die! The history of the last two years' struggle in Cuba is the saddest in all the annals of the world. It is high time this great Government should protect its citizens and their property in Cuba. It is high time we should intervene in the name of humanity, civilization, and Christianity, and put a stop to this brutal, bloody, devastating carnage.

These citizens of the United States in Cuba look to this country for their rights and protection. Apparently they look in vain. The flag of their

country, which should protect them, is spit upon by the brutal Spaniards. These cruel and bloodthirsty Spaniards trample our flag in the dust, ignore treaty rights, and bid defiance to this great Republic.

It is time for us to act. If we do not, we will stand disgraced in the opinion of our own liberty-loving citizens and before the Christian powers of the world. If we do not put a stop to the fiendish barbarities and refined cruelties of these Spanish brigands, our boasted republicanism will become a by-word and our flag of freedom a reproach and a farce. How long shall we submit? How much longer shall we permit poor Cuba to be a human shambles?

The joint resolution of that venerable Senator and friend of humanity, Mr. MORGAN, granting belligerent rights to the Cubans, should be speedily submitted to a vote of this House. Some one is responsible for its suppression. Somebody is responsible for its delay. Who is the man? * * *

The American people to-day are in favor of granting to the Cuban patriots belligerent rights. If that question could be submitted to the people of this country, they would decide in favor of it by an overwhelming majority. They would like to know why no action has been taken by this House on that joint resolution of belligerency. * * * We allow our citizens to be butchered, murdered, and assassinated in Cuba without a protest. * * *

The American people want Cuba to be free. They will see to it sooner or later that Cuba is free. I do not know who retards the joint resolution. I do not know who is responsible for the delay in procuring action upon it, but I do know that the day of reckoning is not far distant, and the American people, who sympathize with these brave and struggling Cuban patriots, will hold some one responsible.

* * * * *
All that I then said was true, and you know it to-day. Many of you sneered and laughed then, but you do not dare to sneer or laugh now. The American people at last have found out who are and have been responsible for the suppression of debate on Cuba, and for the defeat of all legislation in behalf of the Cuban patriots.

The Republican party is responsible. No one who will read the record can escape this irresistible conclusion.

Mr. Speaker, yet again, on the 19th day of last January, in a speech I made in this House on the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill, I said:

The situation in Cuba demands immediate action, and the American people are in favor of aiding the Cuban patriots by extending to them belligerent rights. This should have been done long ago. There is not a member of this House who does not know that if the joint resolution granting belligerent rights to the Cubans which passed the Senate a long time ago by an almost unanimous vote was permitted to be voted on in this House it would pass here by an almost unanimous vote. I do not hesitate to say that nine-tenths of all the members are in favor of it. Some one is responsible for the suppression of action on that joint resolution.

The people of this country would like to know who is responsible—whether it is the Speaker, the President, or the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The time is not far distant when we will find out. We shall know. The Republican party can not escape responsibility in regard to this matter. The people, irrespective of party, all over this country want Cuba to be free. Newspapers all over this country are in favor of granting to the Cuban patriots belligerent rights. Congress should have done so at the very beginning of the war in Cuba. This is not a partisan question and can not be made so. It is a question of right, honesty, justice, and patriotism. Everybody knows that there is war in Cuba. The Spanish monarchy almost daily admits it. No one doubts it. Thirty days after Sumter was fired on, Spain recognized the belligerent rights of the Confederacy.

Mr. OGDEN. And rightfully, too.

Mr. SULZER. Well, we did not complain, and Spain can not justly complain if we recognize the belligerent rights of the Cuban patriots. International law justifies it. We ought to take prompt and immediate action in regard to the frightful situation existing in Cuba. It is proper and humane and all well enough to send provisions, to send money, to send medicine, and to send clothing to the sick, starving, and distressed victims of Spanish barbarity in Cuba, but we should do more—we should send down the North Atlantic Squadron to the gates of Havana, stop these outrages, and aid the Cuban patriots to achieve their freedom and independence, as France aided the Revolutionary colonists in their struggle for liberty and independence.

The Democrats in this House are in favor of passing the joint resolution granting belligerent rights to the Cubans. The Republicans have persistently refused to permit a vote on the question. The people of this country will hold the Republican party responsible for that action at the coming election. We will meet you on the stump all over this country, and we will tell of your

recrancy on this important question, and the people will condemn you. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Fifty-fifth Congress, second session, page 818.)

And again on the same day, discussing the same bill, I said:

I wish to submit a few words regarding the situation in Cuba and to show the country the position on this question of the party of great moral ideas before and after the election, with a commentary by the distinguished gentleman who presides over the destinies of this House and who apparently controls all legislation of the representatives of the people of the United States.

The Republican party in national convention assembled in 1896 said regarding Cuba:

"From the hour of achieving their own independence, the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American people to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression; and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty. The Government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island."

That is the Republican national platform. On that platform Mr. McKinley stood before the people of this country. In his letter of acceptance he said that he believed in every word contained in that platform, and, if elected, he would do his best to carry out the promises and pledges therein contained. Let us see how he has done it. Let us see if he has kept the promise. I read from the President's message, submitted to the Fifty-fifth Congress on the first Monday in December, 1897, regarding the Cuban situation. After giving a brief history of the various insurrections, the various outrages, the various brutalities of the Spaniards in Cuba, he sums it all up by saying:

"For these reasons I regard the recognition of the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents as now unwise, and therefore inadmissible."

What a complete change of front! What a betrayal of a sacred trust! What a difference between now and then!

That is what has made cowards of you all; that is the reason you have changed your tune; that is the reason you sing a different song now. And a little further on he says:

"It is honestly due to Spain and to our friendly relations with Spain that she should be given a reasonable chance to realize her expectations and to prove the asserted efficacy of the new order of things to which she stands irrevocably committed."

"The new order of things to which Spain stands irrevocably committed" is the subjugation of Cuba by the ruthless extermination of the last Cuban patriot. That is the Republican party "before" election and the Republican party "after" election; and the comments I desire to read upon that record of infidelity, upon that record of betrayal of the people's confidence, are the comments of the Speaker of this House, delivered at Alfred, Me., not very long ago. In a speech on that occasion Mr. REED said:

"Boasters are worth nothing. Deeds are facts, and are forever and ever. Talk dies on the empty air. Better a pound of performance than a shipload of language."

The Republican party gave the people of this country "a shipload of language" during the last national campaign; and now when it can carry out its promises it refuses to give the people "a pound of performance." We appeal from the outrageous parliamentary tactics perpetrated by the Republicans on the minority members of this House to the American people. We appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober. We point to the record and ask for judgment. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Fifty-fifth Congress, second session, pages 820 and 821.)

That is the record, and you can not now escape the responsibility of all that has occurred for the past year. I have no desire to severely arraign you, but I ask, and I have a right to ask, that you do something now. No more delay.

Mr. Speaker, we Democrats of the minority stand ready and willing to help you Republicans of the majority in every way that we can to aid the independence of Cuba and vindicate our national honor. On the 8th day of March, 1898, in a speech on the bill appropriating \$50,000,000 for the national defence, I said, in regard to this phase of the Cuban question:

This is a time for the exhibition of the greatest degree of patriotism and for the exemplification of the smallest degree of partisanship. This is the time for action and not for talk. This is the time for unity, for harmony,

and for us all to stand together shoulder to shoulder for the safety and the greatness of the Republic, for the grandeur and the glory of the flag, and for the vindication of American honor.

* * * * *

In a time like this there should be no parties and no party politics. We should all be patriots, and act with a singleness of purpose for the best interest of all the people and for the greatness and glory of the Republic.

* * * * *

No member of this House has more persistently and consistently for the past three years advocated and championed Cuban freedom and Cuban independence than I have. It is now a matter of great personal gratification to me that at last we are alive to the gravity of the situation and that Congress is about to do something and take decisive action.

It should have done so long ago.

In my judgment we should have recognized the independence of Cuba or granted her patriotic sons belligerent rights long ere this. We have waited too long. We have delayed too much. If we had taken decisive action, as we should have done, a year or two years ago, this crisis would have been averted and Cuba would to-day be free and independent and in her proper place among the proud nations of the world.

* * * * *

Cuba is lost to Spain forever, and Spain knows it.

* * * * *

In conclusion permit me to say, as a member of this House representing as loyal and as patriotic a constituency as exists to-day in the country, that no one will do more, that no one will go further than I will, now or hereafter, to do all in my power to promote the national defense, uphold and maintain the national honor, and support and strengthen the hands of the President to speedily bring about what every liberty-loving American citizen wants to see—the freedom and the independence of Cuba.

A month has come and gone since then, and we are still asked to wait and be patient.

God knows we have been patient. We have waited long and have borne much. Pending delay, the Spanish minister insults our Chief Executive; the Spaniards at Havana blow up one of our finest battle ships and send to a watery grave 266 American sailors, as brave and patriotic as ever faced an enemy. Spain destroyed the *Maine* by a mine. We know, and the world believes, she is guilty. No one doubts it. That barbarous act was a cause for war. It was a declaration of war. It was the most fiendish, the most brutal, the most barbaric act of its kind ever perpetrated in the history of the world, but it was characteristic of the cruel, cat-like, fiendish, bloodthirsty, bull-fighting Spaniard. There is not a man to-day in all this land who has read the testimony taken before the naval board of inquiry who does not believe in his heart that the *Maine* was sunk by a Spanish mine, touched off by Spanish agency. If that crime had been committed against any other great power on earth, there would have been war within five days. We are too slow. We hesitate too long. We put up with too much. We are too patient.

The President asked us to suspend judgment regarding the tragedy of the *Maine*. The people of our land, broad-minded, cool and collected, slow to anger, and level-headed, patient, and patriotic, suspended judgment. But the time is at hand when they will suspend judgment no longer. Unless something is speedily done to vindicate American honor and the glory of our flag; unless something is speedily done for the freedom of Cuba; unless something is speedily done to demonstrate that we are a brave people and a great people, conscious of our rights and willing to maintain them, the world will charge us with cowardice. We are no cravens, no cowards. Let us prove it now. [Applause.] Let us act now.

We suspend judgment against Spain no more. We come to take judgment against her. She has no true defense to make.

The great American press is doing for Cuba more than Congress. And in that respect let me say to you that when the historian comes to write the true history of the heroic Cuban struggle for freedom and independence he will say, and truthfully say, that the New York Journal did more to bring it about than any other single agency in the land. The New York Journal is an American paper for the American people. Regarding the frightful crimes, the brutalities, and the cold-blooded assassinations in Cuba it has told the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Everything it has printed has been corroborated by members of this House and by members of the Senate who have been to Cuba as its commissioners and have seen for themselves. It has given us and the people not only the news day by day, but it has given us ocular demonstration from the camera. Who can gaze on these frightful pictures and hesitate as to his duty?

No one who has seen these terrible pictures, no one who has read the terrible news, no one who has listened to the eloquent but dispassionate speeches of Senators PROCTOR, THURSTON, GALLINGER, and MONEY, will suspend judgment any longer. If we do not act now we stand disgraced in the eyes of our own people and in the estimation of all the powers of the civilized world. The selfishness of Wall street must not interfere with the performance of our patriotic duties. We can not neglect the most sacred duties of life in order to please a few manipulators of the market. We must carry out the mandate of the American people and make Cuba free, or the American people will hold us responsible now and hereafter. They are aroused, and woe to the man who is recreant to his trust.

Mr. Speaker, my position is well known and unchangeable. Long, long ago I made up my mind. I have never deviated from the first stand I took. I want to see Cuba free. She must be free and independent. The Spaniard and his yellow flag, the emblem of atrocity, must go.

You know that in all the history of the world no people ever deserved the right of self-government more than the heroic, struggling Cuban patriots. For centuries they have been oppressed, robbed, starved, and murdered by a cruel foreign power. The tyranny of Spain, her refined butcheries, her fiendish brutalities, are the blackest pages in the annals of the world.

What a sad story the history of poor Cuba tells! For more than three centuries Spain has ruled her with a bloodstained and an iron hand. It has been a thousand times worse than the rule of the Turk. It has been a thousand times worse than the rule of a barbaric military despotism over a conquered and subjected province.

The history of poor Cuba's trials, her woes, her troubles, and her tribulations never has been written and never will be written. Not half the truth will ever be known. And more the shame!

Spanish rule in Cuba has been one long, unending, hideous carnival of crime, of public plunder, of rapine, of official robbery, of murder, of starvation, of destitution, of assassination, and of cruel, torturing death—a frightful big black blot on the pages of civilization, a lasting, burning disgrace to all Christendom, an impudent, imperial challenge, backed by the bayonet, to the sober sense of humanity and the Christian civilization of the world. [Applause.]

No pen can depict, no human tongue can tell, one half of poor Cuba's woes and miseries. The horrors of Spanish rule in Cuba are beyond the conception of the human intellect.

Captain-General after Captain-General has come and gone, leaving behind a trail of blood and a pitiful record of pillage, of plunder, of rapine, of crime, and of death in all its forms. But Cuban patriotism has never been conquered. It has lived on and hoped on, and as the years rolled by has become more intensified, more united, and more persistent, until at last the bright dawn of Cuban independence is at hand and Cuba will be free.

From the very beginning of her struggle for independence I have been an ardent friend of Cuba, a pronounced sympathizer of the Cuban patriots, and a strenuous and persistent advocate for their freedom and independence. I shall not change.

I have made many speeches on the floor of this House in favor of granting the Cuban patriots belligerent rights or in favor of recognizing their independence. Every prediction that I have made regarding Cuba is true to-day. With every other liberty-loving American citizen, I want to see the Cuban patriots win their independence; and if we will do our duty, they will win.

We must give our ultimatum to Spain, and it must be that Cuba must be free; that the wanton butcheries, the frightful horrors, the fiendish brutalities, the bloody assassinations, and the willful extermination of innocent men, women, and children in Cuba must be stopped, and stopped at once. As I have said before, we want peace with honor; but there can be no peace with honor unless Cuba receives her independence. The Spaniard must go, and the Spanish flag must be hauled down on the Western Hemisphere. Spanish rule on this side of the Atlantic is at an end. It has always been a disgrace to civilization and to Christendom.

Spain has run her course. Her days of conquest are no more. She is bankrupt; she is obsolete; she is a Bourbon, never forgetting, never learning. Her throne totters, and the monarchy hangs in the scale, trembling for its existence.

Weyler, the greatest criminal of the age, has gone. But the bloody Blanco is carrying out his decrees. He is just as bad; one like the other—no difference.

Mr. Speaker, we have heard much of late about the President's policy of intervention. The President has been promising for several weeks to send to Congress a ringing patriotic message in favor of immediate armed intervention. Let us look into this for a moment. Let me say to you that as I understand it the Cuban patriots do not want armed intervention unless they are recognized as independent. Independence must come first. Intervention can follow, if necessary to maintain it. That seems to me to be the proper policy.

There can be no intervention, it seems to me, with justification unless we recognize the independence of Cuba or declare war against Spain. The Cuban patriots, battling as they are and have been for three years and more for freedom, for liberty, and for the right of self-government, do not intend to give up now. All they ask for, as I am informed, is the recognition of their independence. They do not ask for the armed intervention of this Republic. Recognize their independence, they say, and they will achieve their own freedom. Recognize their independence, and they will drive from the territory of the fairest island in all the world, the gem of the ocean, the last vestige of Spanish rule and Spanish domination.

They believe, and I believe, that if this Government will recognize their independence, England and every South American and Central American republic will also recognize their independence.

This, in my opinion, is the first thing we should do. We should have done it months ago. It is not yet too late. Let us do it now.

Mr. Speaker, I believe now that if we will but do our simple duty, as I conceive it, and recognize the independence of Cuba, the Cuban patriots will speedily win. It will give them the right, by virtue of international law, to buy arms and munitions of war; to buy a navy; to fly their flag on the high seas; to sell their bonds, and to raise money. Give them this right of recognition, I say, and they will be able to cope with Spain in every way and will soon be free by their own stout hearts and their own strong arms. No doubt they can do this.

Look at the situation. According to the best statistics Spain has only about 75,000 soldiers in Cuba, and most of them are disabled. The Cuban patriots have 40,000 well-drilled soldiers, armed and thoroughly equipped. They can put 100,000 more men in the field if they have the rifles and the ammunition. Give them a chance to get 100,000 more rifles and 2,000,000 cartridges, and the Cubans in thirty days will drive the last Spaniard from the coast of Cuba without any aid or assistance from the United States. If you want to avoid war, do this, my friends, and in my judgment we will escape war. Yes, independence, and not intervention, is what the Cuban patriots ask us for. Let us, then, be brave and manly and recognize the fact, and give the proper recognition.

Why, may I ask, all this talk about intervention? In whose interest is intervention? Not in the interest of the Cuban patriots. Will it be in the interest of the Cuban sugar-plantation syndicate, whose agents reside in the New England States? Will it be in the interest of the Spanish bondholders and Wall street, or will it be for the political interest and the aggrandizement of the Republican party? Let some one on the majority side of this House answer.

Mr. Speaker, I stand now where I always have stood, where I will stand until the last—for the liberty-loving people of Cuba, who are making and have made as heroic and as gallant a battle for freedom and independence as any people ever made in the history of the world. [Applause.] I want to see them win, and I know they will win if this great Republic, which should stand as a shining light, as a beacon, and as an example for all the other republics of the world and for every people struggling for liberty and independence, will simply do its duty. [Applause.]

Let us pass a joint resolution recognizing the independence of Cuba. Let us do it at once without waiting further for a message from the President or for the consent of the Speaker.

Let us do our duty, and then let us hope the Executive will do his duty. If he believes in delay, if he believes in a policy of procrastination, I know of no reason why we should. There is not a member on the floor of this House who can rise in his place now and tell us what the policy of Mr. McKinley is or will be regarding the Cuban question. No one seems to know. There does not seem to be a man in Congress who can tell. Is there any reason to believe we shall be able to know more about the President's policy next week, or the week after next, or next month, or the month after next?

Many people of this country, I am afraid, are beginning to think that Mr. McKinley is not a free agent. A great many people will soon believe he has no mind of his own. If he does not do something pretty soon, the people will ere long believe that he is a mere automaton. [Laughter.] He wabbles; he waits; he

hesitates. He changes his mind. Our countrymen are beginning to believe that something must be wrong. Many no doubt think that one day he listens to the nobler impulses of his own heart—and he has a good heart—and to the patriotic dictates of his own conscience—and his own conscience must tell him his imperative duty—and that the next day he listens to his alleged owners and advisers, HANNA, McCook, ELKINS, and the agents of Wall street. The American people will rebel against being governed by the agent of MARK HANNA. Take my word for it, the American people will never consent to be governed by any man who is not big enough to own himself. Let those to whom this applies take heed lest they fall. A word to the wise is sufficient.

Mr. Speaker, you know and I know that the American people are to-day aroused as they have seldom been before. They demand to know what we, their representatives, intend to do to help free Cuba. Do not mock them. Make no mistake; they will know. They want to know what the President is going to do about it, and they will know. There comes a day of reckoning.

We are waiting and waiting. For what? For the President to make up his mind; for the Executive to come to some conclusion. The American people have made up their minds long ago. They want us to act. They want us to do something. We can not gather courage by inaction and irresolution. If we are going to do anything regarding Cuba we must do it now. This talk about intervention will be ridiculous in a few weeks more when the rainy season in Cuba begins. Everyone knows who knows anything about Cuba that it will be impossible for our American soldiery to operate with any degree of success in Cuba during the rainy season. The dread disease of yellow fever will be more potent than bullets from Spanish rifles. Now is the time to act. The watchword of the Administration should be action! action! action!

Mr. Speaker, for one I do not think the President is dealing fairly with Congress. Do you not think it was his duty to send some message to the representatives of the people telling them what he intended to do and when he would do it? We are waiting, but we are waiting in vain. I hope we will not have to wait after next Monday. We are neglecting the true performance of our duties. You gentlemen do not fully appreciate how intense the feeling is among the American people generally on this Cuban question. You do not know how they chafe under these unexplained and incomprehensible delays. I sincerely hope you gentlemen of the majority have some conception of how aroused, how embittered, how humiliated, and how disgusted the rank and file of our constituents are by these delays and these postponements. They will hold the Republican party responsible, no matter what may occur or happen hereafter. The skirts of the Democratic party are clean. For three years we have been trying to accomplish something for the freedom and independence of Cuba.

You know that the Democrats on the floor of this House have over and over again, in season and out of season, endeavored to pass Senator MORGAN'S joint resolution granting belligerent rights to the Cuban patriots. The majority, controlled by the Speaker, has frustrated our efforts. You know, and the world knows, that the Democrats on the floor of this House have time and time again voted to pass a resolution recognizing the independence of Cuba. But the Republican majority has persistently voted against every attempt that we have made. We are in the minority. We can

not do anything but vote and demonstrate our sincerity and good intentions. The Republican party is charged with the responsibility of legislation.

It has most signally failed to carry out its promises regarding Cuba. The people of our country to-day know that if you Republicans did what you ought to do Spain would be compelled to get out of Cuba in twenty-four hours. You should not have delayed a week after the *Maine* was destroyed. There is not an intelligent man in our land who has read, or will read, the testimony of Captain Sigsbee and the other survivors of the *Maine* who escaped Spanish treachery and Spanish destruction who does not believe Spain deliberately destroyed our vessel and assassinated our citizens. That crime must be atoned for.

The proof of Spanish guilt is clear. The testimony is conclusive. If Spain was on trial for her life and the proof was as strong and as convincing, any jury in the land would bring in a verdict of guilty.

Spain shall not escape for this terrible crime against the laws of God and man. The *Maine* tragedy must not be lost sight of. It ought to be made a *casus belli* against Spain.

All honor and all glory to the heroic crew of the *Maine*. They were as brave and as gallant a crew as ever sailed the sea or challenged a foe. They died in the service of their country, and their countrymen will not forget the deep damnation of their taking off. They died in the cause of Cuba, and Cuba must be free at least to atone for their death. They sleep to-day on Spanish soil, but ere the autumn winds blow again over the Queen of the Antilles they will, if we are true to their memory, be sleeping under the Cuban flag or under the flag of the country they served so well. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I am one who believes in peace with honor, and I say now and again there can be no peace with honor until Cuba is free and the crime of the *Maine* is atoned. The sinking of the *Maine* is no mere incident, but is one of the most frightful crimes ever perpetrated in the history of the civilized world. When comes the day of judgment?

I am no jingo crying for war for the sake of war; but there are things more horrible than war. I would rather be dead upon the battlefield than live under the white flag of national disgrace, national cowardice, national decay, and national disintegration. Yes, gentlemen, I believe if you had done your duty, if you had passed the resolution of belligerency or the resolution for independence, there would have been no war, and Cuba would be free. Many believe that war is now inevitable. If it must come, the quicker the better. If it comes, we have nothing to fear, nothing to be ashamed of. We appeal to the enlightened judgment of the world for the justice of our cause. Let us make it short, sharp, crushing, and decisive.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is the duty of this Government now, before another hour or another day goes by, to serve notice on the Spanish monarchy that her torpedo flotilla must not leave the harbor of the Canary Islands. I believe this Government should serve immediate notice on the Spanish monarchy that she must get out of Cuba; that we will not tolerate her kind of administration on this hemisphere, and that if she does not get out and give the Cuban people their independence, we will recognize them and help them to achieve it, just as France helped our revolutionary fathers in the dark days of '76.



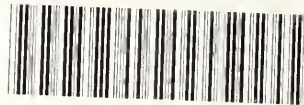
We must be firm. We must stand up for the right. We must help the weak and oppressed. There is nothing the American people despise so much as a weak and impotent foreign policy. It will wreck any Administration. There is nothing that will destroy our Republic so quickly as national cowardice. We must maintain our rights or sink into national decay. Let us all stand together for the glory of our country. We know our own greatness and our own power. We are the greatest Republic the sun of noon ever looked down upon. We are invincible and invulnerable. [Applause.] If Spain desires trouble, so much the worse for poor old Spain. Let us teach her our greatness in war. That will be an object-lesson to the world. Every one knows, who knows anything about our Army and our Navy, and her army and her navy, that if she goes to war with us she will be crushed and humbled to the dust in thirty days. [Applause.]

We must do our duty and fear nothing. Let us do what we know to be right, and let the consequences take care of themselves.

Let us, then, at once meet the paramount duty of the hour and recognize the independence of Cuba. There are many who believe that if this is done at once there will be no war and that Spain will soon give up the contest and get out of Cuba. But, war or peace, let us do our duty.

Oh, for one day of an Andrew Jackson in the White House, with his courage, his backbone, his nerve, and his patriotism! If a man like Jackson were at the helm of the ship of state there would be no more delay, no more hesitation, no more apologies, but he would say in trumpet tones that would shake the very throne in Madrid, "Onward the whole fleet; forward the whole line. And let the battle cry be 'Cuba must be free!'" [Long applause.]

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